2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

in the ritual of the chieftaincy more than Newcomers do: provide the chief's councillors; pay rain-levies and in other ways express their closer tie with him. But there is no rigid class structure based on tradition. All villages are liable to break up. If for any reason the village's internal cohesion begins to weaken, its members scatter and it disappears as a political entity. Invader as well as Newcomer villages may thus disintegrate. The smaller sections of an Invader village which now set up villages of their own have to compete with the larger and more united villages of Newcomer origin. Another facet of the political process, therefore, is the continual competition of village headmen who are trying to maintain the unity of the villages under them, and to increase their following, so that their status against the chief and the other village headmen may be enhanced.

Marks of Rank

In the vernacular it is the *name* of the village which is said to be important.[1] This name is usually taken from the founder of the village and is assumed by a new village headman when he succeeds to the position: when a new village is founded the headman gives it his name to distinguish it from the parent village. But the importance that is ascribed to a name is clearly the importance of the corporate group which it represents. The headman is an incumbent of a social status, the prestige of which is drawn from the corporate group which he represents in his public dealings.

The prestige of village headmen is shown particularly in the degree of deference accorded to them by other village headmen. The headman with the highest prestige is of course the chief: the original leader of the Invaders. Below him may be ranked the rest of the village headmen in a relatively fixed pyramidal hierarchy, determined by a number of factors which I shall outline later.

The dress of important headmen is often an indicator of prestige but this criterion is not infallible nowadays when labour migrants, craftsmen and tobacco growers can afford to buy better clothes than many headmen. But it is usually a fairly safe guess that when a man carries a long stick and is dressed in long flowing

[1] *Lina lya bakupwa*—lit. "the name is great".

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

622 559 293 robes (a gown not unlike a woman's dressing-gown), wears a bright-coloured turban, and has one or two men walking behind him, he is a rather important village headman. One particular item of clothing in the Kawinga, Liwonde and Nyambi areas, is the scarlet headband which some village headmen may wear. I shall discuss this later in the context of the competition of village headmen for rank.

622 559 411 Another external characteristic of rank, which seems to have disappeared with the changing economic structure of Nyasaland, was the carrying of knives (*mingio*) by important village headmen. Previously, status was indicated by the type and size of knife carried in public. The chief usually carried the largest and most ornate. The knife taken from Kawinga on his surrender in Portuguese East Africa was about 18 inches long and had a decorated ivory handle. Smaller knives of similar pattern belonged to his headmen.[1] Nowadays, many young commoners carry knives two or even three feet long, made from the broken blades of motor-car springs.

622 559 351 [56] The right of important village headmen to build fences[2] at the back of their huts is also a mark of prestige which seems to have lost its significance. About 50 years ago only important headmen had the right to erect a fence at the back of their huts. This fence, made of tall grass about six feet high, enclosed the grain stores and other food supplies of the household and formed a private compound in which the headman's wife and slaves carried on their daily tasks.[3] It seems likely that private compounds and slavery were positively associated, so that only the important village headmen who had many slaves found it necessary to build fences. All chiefs and most important headmen to-day still erect these fences. Those who hold initiation [36] rights are obliged to build them because, when the initiands return from the seclusion phase of the initiation ceremony, they are supposed to spend one night in the headman's private compound before going back to their villages. But nowadays, minor village headmen and commoners also frequently build these

[1] See fn. 4, Chap. II, p. 36.

[2] *Linango*, pl. *malinga*. The enclosed space or 'compound' is *sinkondi*. Typical fore compounds are depicted on Plate IX (*a*) and (*b*), facing p. 208.

[3] MacDonald suggests that the common term *kanyere kwa mwanamke* is derived from the adverb *kanyere*—on the other side (of the fence).

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

Administrative headmen than either Christian or Pagan. The chiefs, of course, are all Moslem.

Lastly, the same trend is seen among those headmen who are of the same tribe as the chief, against those who are of other tribes (Table XIV). Here, however, the difference is so small

TABLE XIV

PROPORTION OF ADMINISTRATIVE HEADMEN AMONG ALL VILLAGE HEADMEN OF THE SAME TRIBE AS, OR DIFFERENT TRIBE FROM, THE CHIEF IN CHIEFDOMS, NOONDWE, CHAMBA AND MPOSA AREAS

Type of Headman	Same Tribe	Different Tribe	Total
Administrative	83	65	150
Non-Administrative	76	73	149
Total	161	138	299
% Administrative Headmen	51·6	47·1	50·2

$a = 1$; $\chi^2 = 0{\cdot}95$; $p = 0{\cdot}3302$.

that it may easily have arisen by chance. These factors, however, do not operate independently. There are more co-tribesmen, co-religionists and relatives of the chief among the invaders than among the other categories. In other words, the factors are all intercorrelated and it is possible to consider any particular factor as the independent variable. From the point of view of the people themselves, to be an invader is to have one of the best claims on the chief to become an Administrative headman.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SCARLET HEADBAND

Government recognition therefore provides the means whereby headmen are ranked in two major categories. But Administrative village headmen themselves are ranked by a number of prestige-indicating characteristics. The most important of these are the right to wear a plain scarlet headband and the right to hold boys' and girls' initiation ceremonies.

Of these two additional marks of rank the more important is the right to wear the scarlet headband. This headband is wrapped round the head, turban fashion. Most village headmen wear a headband of some sort, either of white or coloured cloth,

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

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while most commoners do not. In Kawinga-Liwonde area, village headmen of high rank are entitled to wear a plain scarlet headband (*mlangali*). One informant suggested to me that the plain scarlet stands for blood, i.e. it indicates one of the most important elements in rank to-day—warrior ancestry. I do not know that this opinion is well supported. Among the 424 village headmen I enquired about, 24 or 5·7 per cent were entitled to this mark of honour. Of these, three were Aboriginal Nyanja headmen, 17 were Invaders, and only four were Newcomers. Of the four Newcomers, one had the right to hold it before he had come to the area from Portuguese East Africa and that was before the White conquest; one living in Chamba's area had brought it from Liwonde's area where he had been given the right to wear it; and the other two were in Chikweo's area and were given the right by the present Chikweo. The three Aborigines who wear the scarlet headbands are Kanumbu in Kawinga's area, and Mbeta and Mbande in Mpona's area. All three are settled around the shores of Lake Shirwa and they are said to have been the original Nyanja chiefs in this area when the Yao invaded. These chiefs also have boys' and girls' initiation rights. The rank they held in their own tribal communities is recognized by the Yao, who in any case ascribe superior status to the first-comers into an area. With the Nyanja chiefs the position became ambiguous. They had superior rank in that they were in occupation of the land before the Yao moved in. At the same time when they subjugated themselves to the Yao they accepted servility. Nowadays, the Nyanja are well integrated into the political life of the area and carry on their existence along the lake shores, still going to their traditional chief for the settlement of most of the cases not involving heavy compensation.

All Invader chieftains have scarlet headbands. Some of their direct relatives such as Sitora, their clan relatives such as Nunsama and Mapondo, or their patrilateral relatives such as Cibwana Liwonde, the son of the first Liwonde, also have them. After these the next important group who are entitled to wear them are the *ndunas*. Examples are Kangombo, *Mwinde* and Cindumbo in Kawinga's area and Makaza in Nyaikwe area. The *ndunas* are village headmen, usually unrelated to the chief, but who have been long associated with him, and who are his

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

councillors. Long ago they held a most important position within the chiefdom. They were the loyal headmen and intimates of the chief, who could therefore be entrusted with the government of outer areas. They were posted to various parts of the chiefdom; kept the chief advised of war and attacks; maintained the peace among the village headmen in their areas; and collected the ivory to which the chief was entitled and sent it to him. Nowadays, the *ndunas* find themselves in competition with other officials who have arisen from the White Administrative system. The chief also finds advisers and councillors in his court clerks and his court sergeants, but the *ndunas* still have much prestige and advise and assist the chief in his administration of the area. Earlier, I mentioned that a senior headman was allowed to have a mat to himself, and only his own friends and people of his rank could occupy it with him. The only people in the chiefdom who could share the chief's mat, were the *ndunas*, and they called him *anyanga* (my friend). Because the *ndunas* were not related to the chief they were in the peculiar position of being able to settle quarrels between the chief and his family: they were the arbitrators in arguments between the chief and his 'younger brothers' (junior male matrilineal relatives), or the chief and his wives. By Yao custom, rank is inherited by a village headman's successor, so that the relationship between the chief and his *ndunas* is perpetuated through successive incumbents. In Kawinga's area, for example, the *ndunas* to-day have the same name and the same relationship and relative position with regard to the chief as the *ndunas* who invaded the country nearly 100 years ago. This traditional ranking of village headmen emerges as soon as the Government alters its policy. Recently, when the idea of group headmen was reintroduced, the chief nominated the *ndunas* to become group headmen—a position not unlike that they held before the White conquest.

There is considerable difference between the size of Administrative villages under those headmen who have the right to wear the scarlet headband and those who have not. Table XV shows this clearly. The mean number of tax-payers under the former headmen is 80, while under the latter it is only 38. Among the village headmen with the right to wear the scarlet headband 62·5 per cent had villages of more than 60 tax-payers, while among other headmen only 23·0 per cent of the villages were in

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

TABLE XV

SIZE OF ADMINISTRATIVE VILLAGES UNDER HEADMEN WITH SCARLET HEADBANDS AND THOSE WITHOUT

No. of Tax-payers	Without Scarlet Headband	With Scarlet Headband	Total	% Headmen with S.H.
Under 40	103	7	110	3·9
40-79	115	7	122	3·3
80-119	83	3	86	11·5
120-159	6	2	8	25·0
160 and over	7	3	10	42·7
Total	324	24	436*	7·9

Combining villages of more than 80 tax-payers.

$n = 2$; $\chi^2 = 24.56$; $p < 0.0001$.

* Excludes 4 villages in which the numbers of tax-payers were unknown.

this category.[1] The village headmen who are entitled to wear the scarlet headband are mainly invaders and people of high rank. Their villages are large because of their rank as well as vice versa.

I have never heard of a village headman's wearing a scarlet headband without the chief's permission, and I am not sure what sanctions the chief would apply to prevent it. I have heard men say that village headmen who are not entitled to wear it do so if they live far away, but take it off when they come near the chief's court. However, this was only in casual conversation and I did not have an opportunity to check it. From the point of view of the people the right is so bound up with traditional status that it is almost inconceivable that the custom should be flouted. As we have seen, among the Newcomers only two have been given the right within the last 30 years.

Yet the significance of the scarlet headband differs considerably from area to area. In Malemia and in Jalasi areas the customs seems either to have fallen away or never to have existed. In Jalasi area Islam may have some effect. In Malemia area the majority are Christians and most headmen have taken to

[1] Diff. of per cent = 37·3; S.E. of diff. = 9·77; C.R. = 3·83; $p = 0.0001$.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

European-type clothing. In Nyumbi area, shooting on Kawinga-Liwonde area in the north, there are 11 Administrative village headmen out of 57 who are entitled to the scarlet headband (21 per cent). For the Kawinga-Liwonde area the percentage is 37. An informant explained why a large proportion of headmen in Nyumbi area had the right to wear the headband: 'The old Nyumbis and the present one do not care. If a man has many hats, and if he says that his uncle had a scarlet headband, then he is given one too.' Even within the Kawinga-Liwonde area there is some variation in the number of headmen who are entitled to the scarlet headband. The following table sets this out.

Chiefdom	Total Admin. Headmen	% Scarlet Headbands
Kawinga	180	37
Liwonde	114	48
Mpeni	30	100
Chikowo	48	84
Ngokwe	21	142
Chimbe	60	69

Mpeni area near Lake Chirwa shows such a high proportion because of the Nyanja ex-chiefs who are entitled to the scarlet headband. Chikowo and Ngokwe on the other hand are the Mpondo chiefs and seem to have taken the same attitude as Nyumbi and his predecessors. In contrast to the statement about Nyumbi, one Administrative headman in Mpeni's area said: 'The chief's scarlet band is good enough for us all. If each had one it would be too gaudy!'

The Struggle for Initiation Rights

Village headmen are generally outside competition for the right to wear the scarlet headband. These rights have been established largely by ancient custom and are almost confined to the founders or to those who have had them before they came into the area. The competition for initiation rights, however, goes on steadily. H. L. Duff had noticed this as early as 1906.[1] Newcomers may approach the chief and agitate for the rights,

[1] See p. 81.

2: Mitchell K-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

632. The right to hold initiation ceremonies may be held con-
554 currently with the right to wear a scarlet headband. For
811 purposes of analysis thus far, I have treated the holding of
252. initiation ceremonies separately. By common consensus, the wearing of this headband is an indicator of much greater rank than the holding of initiation ceremonies. The highest ranking headmen, like the chiefs, usually have the right to wear the scarlet headband together with the rights to both initiation ceremonies. In order to show how rank varies among the main categories of village headmen I have devised a numerical

TABLE XXIII

MARKS OF RANK AMONG ADMINISTRATIVE VILLAGE HEADMEN

Type of Headman	With Headband				Without Headband				Total
	Both	Boys only	Girls only	No rights	Both	Boys only	Girls only	No rights	
Aborigines:									
Direct rel.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3
Clan rel.	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
No rel.	9	—	—	—	—	1	1	15	27
Total	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	16	31
Invaders:									
Direct rel.	8	1	—	—	3	2	3	26	47
Clan rel.	4	—	—	—	8	2	3	23	44
No rel.	3	—	—	1	4	2	2	23	45
Total	15	1	—	1	17	6	11	84	136
Newcomers:									
Direct rel.	2	—	—	—	2	1	3	13	21
Clan rel.	—	1	1	—	3	1	13	25	43
No rel.	1	—	—	1	9	8	14	180	213
Total	3	1	1	1	14	10	31	218	277
Grand total	19	2	1	2	31	17	43	318	434

system of ranking. I have assumed that the rarer the mark of rank the higher the rank it indicates. Table XXIII sets out the incidence of marks of rank among the 414 Administrative village headmen for whom I have recorded the data. In all, there were 24 headmen with scarlet headbands, 69 with boys' initiation ceremonies and 93 with girls' initiation ceremonies. I have given the holding of a scarlet headband the value of the reciprocal of the proportion of village headmen who hold that right, i.e. $414/24 = 17.3$.

The value of holding a boys' initiation ceremony by the same procedure is: $414/69 = 6.0$.

The value of holding a girls' initiation ceremony is: $414/93 = 4.4$.

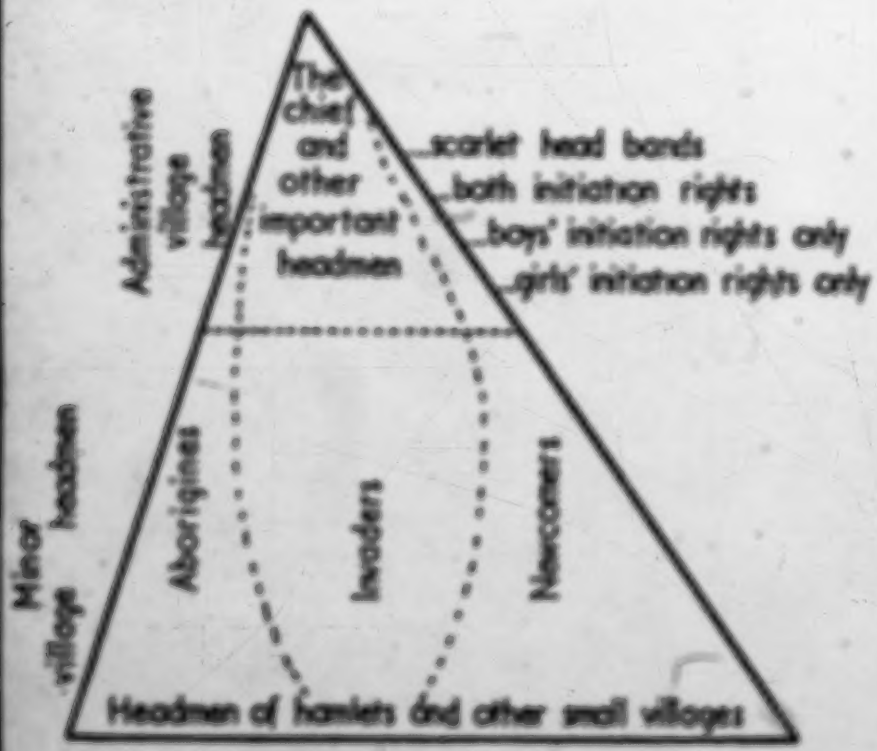

Diagram 6. Paradigm of the Political Structure.

2: Mitchell E-S (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

632. 559 The value of holding the various combinations of rights then are these:

611	Senior headman and both initiation ceremonies . . . = 177
282	Senior headman and boys' initiation ceremony . . . = 153
	Senior headman and girls' initiation ceremony . . . = 117
	Senior headman alone . . . . . = 173
	Both initiation ceremonies . . . . . = 104
	Boys' initiation ceremony only . . . . . = 80
	Girls' initiation ceremony only . . . . . = 44

We may now alter the rank of headmen within any particular category by estimating the percentage score from a possible. For example, the score of the rank among Aboriginal headmen would be:

1 × 177 = 851
1 × 80 = 80
1 × 44 = 44
931 (expressed as a percentage of 11 × 177 = 1811)

632. 559 Using this method I have set out in Table XXIV the rank scores for headmen in the categories in Table XXIII. Table XXIV shows that on the whole ranking among the lowsider

TABLE XXIV

RANK SCORES FOR ADMINISTRATIVE VILLAGE HEADMEN OR DEPUTIES' CATEGORIES

Aborigines:		
Chief's direct relatives	0	
Chief's clan relatives	300	
Chief's non-relatives	140	
All Aborigines		161
Immigrants:		
Chief's direct relatives	274	
Chief's clan relatives	187	
Chief's non-relatives	131	
All Immigrant headmen		190
Newcomers:		
Chief's direct relatives	84	
Chief's clan relatives	103	
Chief's non-relatives	48	
All Newcomer headmen		81
All chief's direct relatives		194
All chief's clan relatives		138
All chief's non-relatives		88

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 F'77 Tao F'77

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.Q42
5%

PLATE V

Village headman, Nyanja, at his installation ceremony. He is now entitled to wear a scarlet headband but wears a ceremonial coat instead. On his right are his sister, on his left his wives, adopting the posture correct for an inferior—head lowered, eyes downcast, hands in the lap. A villager is dropping a penny into the cloth at the headman's feet while the headman's representative collects the pennies.

(July 1937)

[facing p. 114]

some swallows into a big gourd. These his assistants will carry away, together with a few, to *Lapanda*, whither the *n'anitchi* now goes to remain while lowering goes on for four days.

During their stay at *Lapanda*, the *n'anitchi* and his assistants live on flour and chickens begged from the mothers of the unit. On the first day nothing is done; on the second day they begin making the *Jagogo* or figures in relief of animals, etc., to be described later; *Kamongomi* is made this day. On the third day the other figures are made and on the fourth day *shing'ombong'ombi*. Into the ground where *shing'ombong'ombi* is made, some of the strong beer, known as *ngongo*, which is added to the flour and water mixture on the fourth day as signified by *ba-kokpishi*, is poured by the *n'anitchi*.

When the work at *Lapanda* is finished, the *n'anitchi* carrying his "tail" leads his assistants wearing their leather headdresses back to the chief's village singing:

"*Ningabila ahowa kongo ahokpishi ba mani, shikongo ashowani* [533
"I went go and see beer perhaps they have mixed at the village, somehow oh dear! 534]
Chikondo shamajini ngaliga awa ningamila mila"
The going out of a day or two ago if I had not taken tobacco I would have died of hunger!"

Arriving at the village where the brewing is going on, the *n'anitchi* takes a cup and putting his "tails" on the ground, he dips into the pot of beer belonging to the leader's mother, pours some on his "tail," and then drinks some. Then he puts some into a gourd, together with some medicine, and going up to the chief who sits in his verandah overlooking the brewing place, he kneels, and first drinking a little himself, he presents the drinking gourd of beer to the chief who drinks and then returns the cup to the *n'anitchi* who finishes it. Picking up his "tail," he then goes straight back to *Lapanda* while his assistants with some men nominated by the chief go round showing pots of beer in turn. The assistants choose by striking a pot with a medicine-tail. These pots of beer are then put aside to cool, while moderate drinking begins in the chief's house. This takes place in the morning of the day on which the unit will return from *Nilapala* to *Lapanda*, and in the afternoon, the people from the village will go out to *Lapanda* to take part in the return. The return is made about sunset.

The unit at *Nilapala* are put into their shelters and the doorways barricaded. At sunset or just after, the place is set on fire and the unit have to change their way through the back of the shelters. They then form in line, wearing a slip of bark cloth round their loins and over this, a kind of kilt called *mapijimiso* if made of frilled-out bark-cloth, or *mujongo* if made of palm leaves. Accompanied by the shaman, they proceed towards *Lapanda*, each carrying a stick of smouldering wood and an unlit bundle of bark-cloth.

The burning of the huts at *Nilapala* has been the sign to the *n'anitchi* that the unit have left; he puts round his waist a bark cloth belt, shambo, and a calico sash round his chest with the ends hanging down behind and on his head he wears the *kongo* headdress made of the feathers of *shimpa*, the widow-bird. In each hand he carries the tail of goat or zebra, held right end up, with the hollow end filled with "medicine." Thus arrayed, he goes out

3:Stanmus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT? Yao FT?

The *unk'* then remain for about a month under the care of their guardians, during which time they receive most valuable instruction as to their behaviour to others, especially to their elders and to members of the opposite sex. Their locks are brought home to them and many little pieces of advice given. They are taught the household duties which will be their lot thenceforth and they are forewarned of approaching puberty and what it means to them. [88]

During this period their child-names are not used and until their new names are assigned to them, they are called after birds and animals, generally some of the smaller animals, e.g. Anyingalwe (*nyingalwe* = the shrew rat), Alitawale (*litawale* = a big species of rat), Analyelye (*nyelyelye* = the shrew). I have been unable to ascertain whether these have any totemistic significance. [551]

The girls are usually given a fright to impress on them the danger of lions; one night an imitation of a lion approaching their enclosure is made when all is dark; then all of a sudden one of the elements armed with big thorns instead of claws will spring upon one of the girls, generally picking out the worst behaved.

When the term of instruction is completed, they again adjourn to *Chipoto* for two days where *Unyago* is danced on the first night by women, on the second night by men. The first day is spent by a party of men and women in the bush, preparing figures of animals and their dress for the dance. The women wear a small garment of bark-cloth called *mutukagwiele*, a word which literally means "buttocks of a frog" but which is used with the meaning of trousers and refers in this case to the fact that the bark-cloth is sewn round the upper part of each thigh into a garment like a pair of knickerbockers. Round the abdomen and chest are worn bands made of short pieces of small, decorticated millet stalks; similar bands are worn on the legs and arms, two on each thigh, two on the leg, one at the wrist, below the elbow, and one round the upper arm. In the dark these give the body the appearance of being painted in alternate bands of black and white. They also wear a headdress of the same material. [292] [301]

On the first evening of the return to *Chipoto*, this party of women appears after dark; they dance in a row, advancing and retiring in step, swinging their arms and moving their bodies to exclamations of *Bi-di! Bi-di!* Other women dress up as men, wearing long beards made of *likanga*, a kind of fibre plant.

The second night, the representations of animals made of grass and bamboo framework supported by men appear, the elephant, the rhinoceros, and various antelopes being the common figures, also the zebra made of painted bark cloth. These animal figures are similar to the *singao* or *singao* of the Anyanja and to those of the *Awisa*,[1] but the symbolism is unknown among the Yao. [171]

During all these presentations at *Chipoto*, the *unk'* seated on mats are the chief spectators and are duly frightened by the performances of the last two days.

[1] Stannus, 'Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa,' op. cit., p. 288.

to the row of girls, singing, "*Anambwaka mkandoni*" calls, "*Mapanduni*" (he speaks, to give). Leaving the pole at the girls' feet, they retreat, after which the girls take it up and advance to the boys in the same way. 535 857

Chilolo is danced rather like *mkomanda*. A group of men dancers go round in a circle, and within this circle may be a line of women dancing to the same time but with rather different steps from the men. This I have seen danced by a trained band of dancers, but coloubers join in. A man may lead a woman into the middle and embrace her. There is a tendency among these trained dancers to forsake the old time stately embrace for something which is not so unobjectionable. 536

Lidakpi is a new dance, but one that is well-liked. The dance are as in *mkomanda*. Men, women, and young people dance in a circle followed by entry into the middle, and *kwgumila*.

Mkomanda is danced by men on one side and women on the other side of a circle, to drums *mdumo*, *mlindo* and *mangoko*. Any of them may dance out into the middle after going round in a circle.

Lipopo is an old dance for the elder men and women. Like *mkomanda*, the steps are slow and are characterized by side-to-side movements.

Mchinungo: drums, *likuti*, *chingungu*, and a wooden drum called *mlilila*, because it is so played as to give the sound "*mlililili*." It is danced by men in a crowd. While the feet do little, shuffling steps, the buttocks are jerked out backwards and forwards.

Chandamali: a dance of recent introduction resembling *mlili*.[1]

There are three dances which are danced by special dancers.

Mlenjanu: the name as the *mlondo* of the *Anyanja*,[2] generally danced by four men who wear a kind of kilt made of strips of palm-leaf, and rattles, *mtanzi*, on their legs. They may also wear the *kwapa*, a headdress made of the tail-feathers, *mpiu*, of the *chinyao* bird: it is like a broad hat-brim without a crown, the feathers projecting radially. The *mlondo*, a piece of a shell which comes from the Zambezi coast is also often worn (Pl. III, fig. 2). The drums which give the time are *chimisinga*, played very rapidly indeed. The steps are incredibly fast, with greater excursions than in the other dances, and usually end up with a jump into the air and a pose with gyrating. A circle is formed round them by the young people who, in the intervals, walk round singing and clapping. The dancers may call out any girl for the embrace. [292] ●

Mwanje: danced by two or three pairs of men who wear the palm-leaf kilt, *mtanzi*, and a broad, bark-cloth belt called *chando*. When the drums start, these dancers walk round the circle of onlookers, and get the song going, and the clapping in time; then with a signal to the drummers, they start dancing alternately an extremely rapid dance with rattles in the hands, *mwanje*, and a kind of dance-de-ecarte, *chando*. The drums employed are *mdumo*, *mlipitipi*, and *chimisinga*. The rapid dancing is too exhausting to last more than a few seconds. This is always danced at *Lupembe*. [292]

[1] Cf. Swann, "Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa," *op. cit.*, p. 294. [2] Ibid.

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[End Plate 1]